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ABSTRACT

Education of ethnic groups in Israel is explored in light of the rapidly growing population and the desire of members of all ethnic groups for upward economic and social mobility. Major ethnic groups include Moslems, Christians, Druze, and various religious and non-religious groups of Jews including Ashkenazim, Sephardim, and Kibbutznik. Ethnic diversity has increased with the arrival of settlers from Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere. One aspect of this diversity is the increasing conflict between these groups and the earlier settlers of Eastern European origin who have enjoyed historic dominance over political and social structures. Education in Israel begins with compulsory attendance in kindergarten through ninth grade. Higher education is open to students who qualify by examination. Although education is available to all Israeli citizens, Jews of European-American background have made the greatest progress at all levels. Reasons for this progress include experience, education, and motivation of families; fluency in Hebrew and English; and family receptivity to schooling for girls. Reasons for the lack of progress of oriental Jews and members of other ethnic groups include prejudice and lack of fluency in Hebrew and/or English. Suggestions for improving the quality of education for all Israeli citizens include integrating ethnic groups socially, culturally, and educationally; providing special programs for gifted students from disadvantaged groups; and increasing efforts to educate adults of all groups. (DB)

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THE EDUCATION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN ISRAEL

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The Education of Ethnic Groups in Israel

I Introduction In the years since 1948, when the State of Israel was established, the nation has been preoccupied with several basic problems. Primary among them are the reception and settlement of Jews from the countries of the world and the defense of the nation against both internal and external armed attacks.

During this period, a major fact is that the population has increased from about 800,000 to over three-and-one half million. Of this number, 12% are Moslems, 2% are Christians, 85% are Jews, and the remainder are Druze and others.¹

The growth of populations has been accompanied by continuing demands for education and for the concomitant development of the economy which supports it.²

Closely associated with the population increases have been the amplification of manpower requirements, hopes for continued upward economic and social mobility, and the particularized expectations of ethnic groups for over-all participation in the society's goods.

Progress in fulfilling such demands and expectations

among Israel's ethnic groups has been both depressed and stimulated, depending upon local and international conditions. This has been especially the case within the various and fluctuating conditions of pre-war, wartime, and post-war events. Limits have had to be placed upon priorities in national development, including education, under the impacts of problematic access to oil, participation in international trade, and over-all support from external sources.

Thus, whatever have been the acknowledged assumptions regarding educational needs, development efforts have often had to take second (or third) place to more urgent needs. In spite of shifting local and international conditions, there has been no reduction in the welcome extended, indeed the urgent invitation, to new immigrants.

With the population growth, cities have become enlarged and slums formed; new towns and villages have been established. New ethnic communities, some within recognizable slums, have provided visible evidence of the growing disparity among population groups. While, to a large extent the disparities have been evident from the economic and cultural viewpoint, they have been both exacerbated and ameliorated by the requirements of military service for men and women of all disparate groups. For some this has meant training to move upward from poverty, preparation for advanced studies, or the acquisition of the most basic skills of literacy. All this has occurred during a period of continuing and intermittent military activity.

Encompassed within the growth of populations, has been the delineation of their differences,--the religious and the

nonreligious; the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim; the kibbutznik and the others. Thus the situation prevailing in Israel reflects the historic development of the population along with the economic growth, educational progress, and the organization and functioning of the new state.

Of special interest has been the historic dominance over the political and social structures in Israel by the early settlers of Eastern European origin and their descendants. With the arrival of new settlers from Asia, Africa, and the Western Hemisphere, conflicts and dissatisfactions became numerous. They have placed great emphasis upon the problems of access to education, the quality of school personnel and resources, and the opportunities for post-secondary enrollment. It is these factors which produce or inhibit economic mobility and social progress.

Thus, while Israelis are debating their worries about housing, an inflated economy, and peace, they rarely omit to note the relevance of education to these problems.

In this study, therefore, we shall examine the conditions of education in Israel with special relation to the demands and needs of ethnic groups. Our explicit purposes are the following:

1. to examine the ethnic diversity in the population of Israel;
2. to analyze the conditions of education provided for ethnic groups;
3. to examine the effectiveness of educational provisions for ethnic groups, the holding power of the system, implications regarding the quality of education, the determinants of educational progress, and the mobility experienced by ethnic

- group members in social and economic terms;
4. to review the resultant situation of ethnic group status and the potential for further development.

II The Educational System Education in Israel begins with compulsory attendance in kindergarten at age 5, with over 96% of the age group enrolled. In 1976-77, 49% of two-year olds were enrolled in a kindergarten. For three-year and four-year olds, the rates were 85.6% and 96% respectively.³

The system provides six years of primary education, three years of intermediate, and three years of post-intermediate.

Education is compulsory through the ninth grade, with reducible tuition fees from the tenth through the twelfth grades. In grade ten, 56% of the students are fully exempt from tuition, in grades eleven and twelve, 34%.⁴

Higher education, in eight institutions, is open to those who qualify by examination; 84% of first degree candidates must pay full tuition fees.⁵

The system is provided for Israeli Arabs, regardless of their religion, on the same organizational pattern.

Hebrew education is further divided into three supervisory sequences: state schools, state-religious, and independent. The former enroll 70% of the pupils in schools; the state-religious schools enroll just under 25%; the independent (orthodox religious) about 5%. All are government-supported.⁶

In the ensuing context of this paper, we will examine the explicit ethnic components, their levels of participation, and additional relevant data.

III Israel's Ethnic Diversity While the Zionist ideal has called for the return to Israel of the widespread Jewish populations of the world, significant numbers have remained in place, especially those of the Western Hemisphere and the Soviet Union. Thus, the return to Israel, though often given impetus by negative conditions as well as by adherence to Zionist ideals, has been relatively incomplete.

At this time we find that the ethnic divisions are basically those of Jews and non-Jews, with additional divisions within both the Jewish and non-Jewish groups.

In Table I, the relative size of the groups is shown.⁷ We note that Palestinians are Arabs in the Administered Territories, including East Jerusalem. Arabs, when so designated in the Table, do not include the Arab residents of East Jerusalem.

Jews counted as "religious" and "non-religious" are so designated following surveys undertaken in recent years. The identification of "Orientals" includes "Sephardim" and Israeli-born Jews of Oriental-Sephardic parents.

We may determine from these recent figures that the preponderance of Jews over Arabs is continuous, that Moslem Arabs far outnumber Arabs of other religious, and that Oriental Jews--those of Sephardic and Asia-Africa origin--outnumber the Ashkenazim who are of Europe-North America origin. At the same time, religious or orthodox Jews are outnumbered by the non-religious, self-declared non-observant Jews.

At this point, we do not yet refer to the complexities of power and status in Israeli society. Further in this study, we will analyze the factors of income, educational levels, family

size and fertility, and political participation.

Table II indicates and compares Jewish ethnic groups by country of origin. In this Table, we define Ashkenazim as those from the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, and the "remaining" American and European nations.⁸

The numerical data indicate the diversity of national origins, but it is necessary to explore some of the deeper implications. The immigrants represented, over the years, the range from the most sophisticated Western cultural and scientific experience to the illiterate representatives of unskilled, culturally deprived circumstances.

While in these groupings there were nonobservant, non-religious Jews, they were joined by those whose practice of Judaism went from the Sephardic ritual-centered to the Ashkenazic book-centered to the many Russians who identified as Jews, but whose knowledge and practice were neither oral nor of the Torah.

Among the Arab groups, while many fled the country during the years 1948 to 1950, those who remained were mostly Moslem, with fraternal feelings more generally directed toward fellow Moslems in the region than to fellow Arabs, Christians, or Druze, within the country.

Thus, the nature of ethnic diversity is not only quantitative, reflecting the cultural, religious, and national origins of Israelis. There is a qualitative aspect as well, which tends to reflect the ethnic diversity as it may be linked with economic, social, and cultural achievement. In general, the Oriental Jews, Sephardic, Arabic-speaking, coming from subjugated conditions in their countries of origin, tend to fall within lower economic

strata. Such immigrants have, from the early years of their settlement, been more closely knit as families and communities, but also poorly-housed, employed in unskilled work, zealous in their religious practices, and reluctant to assimilate into the dominant Israeli culture. Their Middle-Eastern traditions as regards women were more in keeping with those of the Arab societies of their origin. They often clashed with the more liberal practices of the movers of general development in Israel and with the ensuing urgencies of their own younger generation.

Before concluding this analysis of ethnic group membership, attention must be given to the data in Table II which refer to Israel as country of origin. From 1948 (when this group was second in number) through 1976, the data show a growing number of Sabras. These are the Israeli-born, some of whose origins were in Palestine for numerous generations, others who are in fact second or later generations of immigrants.

The growth in the population of the Sabras may imply a gradual assimilation to some common norms, away from the distinctive characteristics of immigrant parents.

In summary, therefore, we note the varieties of ethnic groups in which religious practices, language fluency, cultural traditions, and initial educational levels were indicated or implied. The Oriental Jews were, in effect, refugees from Arab countries and arrived in relative poverty, needing much time to assimilate and become established.

IV Ethnic Group Education The system of education described above applies to students of all ethnic groups with relevant

assignment of teachers, designated curriculums, and locations of schools for the Arab populations.

Within the Jewish groups, distinctions arise between those of Ashkenazic and Oriental origin. It is the latter group that has experienced the conditions which reflect "disadvantage" and lack of full benefit from the system.

A recent Ministry document states that the

"disadvantaged youngsters in Israel may be defined as those whose level of school achievement--because of environmental conditions--is far below that of children from middle class families. The essential composite of components comprising this problem may be summarized as follows: 1) the 'Eastern' (Islamic) ethnic background of their parents; 2) the educational background of parents is limited and does not contribute to a child's intellectual stimulation, learning motivation, or educational support; 3) the social and economic conditions of the family: a large number of children, few rooms at home, lower wage income, no conducive physical conditions for study. According to all of these criteria, about a third of all Israeli pupils in elementary and secondary schools may be considered 'disadvantaged'".⁹

Smootha refers to "gaps in education" by pointing to a number of instances of such difference: Ashkenazim have, on the average, more years of schooling than the Orientals; the illiteracy rate among Orientals is nine times as high as the Ashkenazi rate; the percentage of Orientals with higher education is only one-quarter that of Ashkenazim.¹⁰

In its 1978 report, the Central Bureau of Statistics reports similar conditions in 1977.¹¹ See Table III.

For those born in Israel, the preponderance with 9 to 12

years of schooling is shown. Within the Israeli-born population, however, those whose fathers were born in Europe-America (Ashkenazim) were the most advantaged educationally: a total of 37.8% had more than 12 years of schooling compared with the 8.1% for Asia-Africa in origin, and 21.1% for children of Israeli-born fathers.

Of those aged 14 years and over who were born in Europe-America, 23.9% had 13 or more years of schooling. Oriental immigrants aged 14 years and over show 7.7% with 13 or more years of schooling.

For the Jewish group as a whole, the data tend to show that years of schooling favor the males in the 16+ years (9.7% versus 5.3% for females) and, more strikingly, in the group having no schooling (4.2% versus 9.5%). Females, however, out-enroll the males in the 13-to-15 year block, reflecting their enrollments in teachers colleges, in some vocational schools, and in the undergraduate university programs.

Among the non-Jews, large numbers of females, 36.6%, are without schooling in this age group, possibly influencing the educational motivation and achievement of their children. The majority of males in the age group have had from 5 to 8 years of schooling (40.9%) and only 7.3% have gone beyond the 12th year.

Additional data on school enrollments are shown in Table IV.¹²

We find that for Jewish students, enrollments through the primary grades tend to be consistent for all ethnic groups, with the Asia-Africa group continuing to reflect their majority presence in the population.

As regards the shift in the period 1966-67 to 1976-77, Israel's fluctuating immigration may be the reason for the rise in the proportion of the Israeli group in school,--the increment in births among all groups may have brought the increase from 9.1% to 20.3% for the Sabras.

Data for the intermediate schools show that the schools assert holding power for all ethnic groups which retain their relative presence in each grade.

For the post-primary schools, comprising grades IX and above, but not higher education, some striking conditions are evident. In the period 1966-67 to 1977-78, relative enrollments of the Asia-Africa and Israeli groups have soared, with the data resembling enrollments in previous grades. Yet, for the Europe-America students, enrollments have shown a decided drop. This may reflect several conditions: recent surges in immigration (with as yet few children of the age group), relatively little immigration from the West, or the growth of the Sabra population vis a vis the others.

The data on the individual grades, IX through XII, show the continued holding power of the schools and the apparent motivation of families. Within the grades IX through XIV, the divisions as to curriculums are of interest. The enrollments in general secondary education (preparation for higher education) are most favorable for the Europe-America group. The Asia-Africa group has tended to be interested in (or best qualified academically for) vocational and agricultural studies. While these educational areas may provide for the best interests of the economy and of national self-sufficiency, they appear to be largely peopled

by Asia-African students. The arguments in favor of such emphasis may be justified from the interests noted, but the current situation (and its implications) continues to produce stratification within the Israeli society.

With regard to continuation classes, the participation of the Asia-Africans is small compared with the others. One may assume that such classes for adults, usually held at night, would be difficult for women of any of the groups to attend, but especially for Oriental women. These women, tending to marry early and to have large families, would be reluctant or unable to attend such classes.

In the teacher training colleges, also within the post-primary category, there has been a drop in proportional enrollments of Europe-Americans to about half the student body. The Asia-Africa group has risen to almost 40%, showing a tendency for the prospective teachers of primary grades to be more culturally congruent with the majority of the children enrolled. The increase in the proportion of the Israeli-born in teacher preparation is another positive development in the same direction. The benefits for young children in having teachers who are sensitive to and aware of their linguistic, cultural, and social conditions are recognized not only in Israel, but in most pluralistic societies.

While considerations of housing, settlement of immigrants, and possibilities of employment have all concerned Israeli authorities, the results have tended to be the establishment of enclaves of settlers of common origin and background. In some aspects these settlements, both in urban and rural areas, have perpetuated language and customs among recent immigrants and their families.

Such "ghettoization", at first glance, would be detrimental to the development of the new Israeli,--nationalistic, oriented to current needs and development of the nation, and achieving economic mobility, with better living conditions than were previously experienced.

On the other hand, the arrival of new immigrants, speaking no Hebrew for daily use, with few skills, orthodox in religious orientation, imbued with Islamic experiences regarding families and women, caused the Israeli agencies to prefer to establish enclaves. In theory, family orientation, social services, and appropriate child education, could be provided more readily and more effectively in such conditions.

A 1975 report by the Ministry of Education and Culture states that "while in 'normal' classes only 4% of the pupils were left behind at the end of grade I, in schools with a preponderance of Oriental youngsters, the number reached 25%. While in 'normal' schools (predominantly of Western pupil and teacher background), most children were enriched culturally by their families before entering the formal educational system, children of predominantly Oriental background were denied such familial treatment."¹³

Later in this study we shall examine the steps considered and taken to remedy such circumstances. At this time we shall review the current status of enrollments which may be seen as actually or potentially segregated.

Table V shows the concentrations of pupils from Asia-Africa in classes of different levels, locations, and control.¹⁴

In this regard, classes where over 85% of the pupils were

Asia-African, were attended by over 30% of such pupils in 1972-73. Improvement is shown in 1976-77, with the enrollment of about 21% in such classes. There has been a reduction, therefore, of segregation in the primary schools.

Primary classes of Asia-Africans are now mostly at the 35 to 64.9% of concentration, with 33% of such pupils enrolled.

At the intermediate school level, highly segregated classes with over 85% Asia-Africa pupils are now attended by about 25% of such pupils. The classes which hold 35 to 64.9% Asia-Africa pupils are now attended by about 30% of such pupils.

In examining the breakdown of groups by class size, we would assume that the ideal concentration of disadvantaged pupils would be where they comprise less than one-third of the total in the class. Of the categories in Table V, the closes approximation to this ideal is at the primary level in the established rural communities, where nearly 80% of Asia-Africa pupils are enrolled in what might be called "desegregated" classes,--of fewer than 14.9% and up to 35.9% of such pupils.

The levels of segregation of Asia-Africa pupils are highest in religious institutions and in newly-established urban and rural settlements. In the latter cases, provisions for education are available and used, but are implemented within a condition of segregated housing as well.

We are able to observe, therefore, that the educational condition of one ethnic group, the Oriental or Asia-African in origin, is generally a segregated one. We shall discuss shortly the developments being undertaken by the government to ameliorate such conditions and to overcome their results.

In looking at the educational progress of the Oriental Jewish population, the group of Asia-Africa origin, we review the data for those aged 14 to 17. These pupils would tend to be in school beyond the primary level. Thus, in Table VI, percentages of the two basic non-Israeli-born groups are indicated for several years.¹⁵

The post-primary school grades, now grades VII through XII, show some growth in enrollments of the age group; for the Europe-America ethnic group, from 68.6% of those of that origin aged 14 to 17 in 1966-67, to 70.6% in 1976-77, a gain of about 3%.

The ethnic group which originated in Asia-Africa, in 1966-67 represented 37.9% of their group aged 14 to 17; in 1976-77, 53.8% of that ethnic group were enrolled, an increase of over 40%.

The gains for the relatively disadvantaged ethnic group seem to offer evidence of change in official policies regarding provision of services, in levels of motivation, and in access to schooling. They may also reflect the response of families in modifying their traditional attitudes toward education.

While the data for boys and girls show considerable gains over all, we do not have dis-aggregated data for the sexes within each ethnic group. Information to be presented later in this report may permit some inferences on this point.

We find that in the secondary academic track, the Europe-America group far surpasses the Asia-African: 43.5% of the former are enrolled as contrasted with 19.2% of the latter. In vocational-agricultural training, a larger proportion of the Asia-Africans are enrolled (37.2%) than those of the Europe-America group (27.2%).

In both ethnic groups, the holding power of the schools

is sustained through age 15, when over 70% of the Asia-Africa group are enrolled in schools and over 80% of the Western group.

By age 16, the former group has dropped to 61% of its ranks; the latter has dropped slightly to just under 80%. The drop continues still more drastically by age 17: only 48% of the Orientals of this age remain in school, while the more favored group still enrolls 70% at this age.

Although we cannot differentiate the data for boys and girls within the ethnic groups, similar conditions prevail: enrollment of girls aged 15 is at a peak of 86.1%; at age 16 it drops to 78.5%, dropping further to 66.3% of girls aged 17.

For boys aged 14 to 17, the peak does not equal the enrollment ratio of the girls in the same group: 70% of those aged 15 are enrolled, while at 16 only 61.9% are in school, with the most drastic drop to 50.4% at 17.

We may be seeing early employment (boys), early marriage (girls), and the completion of grade IX by age 15, when compulsory education is completed. The relatively high enrollment of girls in secondary academic education for this age group seems to indicate their interest in teacher training and later university education, tendencies to be verified by ensuing data.

In analyzing the students in teacher training colleges, we find interesting data in Table VII.¹⁶

The teacher training college is a post-secondary school not seen as the equivalent of the universities or of other academic institutions. Nevertheless, we learn that some of the students in these colleges possess matriculation certificates which would provide possible admission to the university. The teachers colleges

offer one-year courses as preparatory for formal admission into teacher training courses and as in-service education; two-year courses to prepare university graduates for teaching in elementary or post-elementary schools, to prepare qualified teachers for non-official and Arab sector schools, and to prepare others for elementary school posts; three-year courses to prepare "senior certified" kindergarten, early childhood, and elementary level teachers.¹⁷

While there has been an increase in student enrollments since 1969-70, the teachers colleges continue to prepare over 11,000 students in each of the three most recent years. Teachers for the indicated levels are ready for assignment at the completion of two years of study, but many take the third year for the higher qualification and status.

In the most recent three years for which data are available, enrollments are essentially flat or on a slight downward grade. Among these students, those of Oriental origin are just below 40% of the total. For the earliest levels of education in Israel, therefore, where a growing number of children are of such origin, teachers of similar background will be in lesser proportion than their pupils.

If we consider that a common background for teachers and pupils, and all that is implied thereby, can have a strong positive value, then the disadvantaged Oriental children will not have enough such teachers. They may well tend to remain disadvantaged. If, on the other hand, we can observe that a mix of pupils along with a mix of teachers will promote effective learning, greater motivation, and more rapid entry into the mainstream of Israeli

life and culture, then the smaller proportion of Orientals among teachers may not be prejudicial to children's interests,--if there is a mix rather than segregation. In fact, what we may find truly problematic is that the enrollment in teachers colleges is nearly 90% women. A strong case could be made for the recruitment of more men to teach at this level so as to reduce the "disadvantage" of this situation for all pupils. The alternative is the continued minimal presence of men as teachers, role models, and effective conveyors of the national culture.

As to Arabs in teacher training, this ethnic group represents a growing pupil population in the schools, but a reduced enrollment in the teachers colleges. We can envision, therefore, ever-larger classes with a growing equal presence of women and men teachers, the latter now being nearly half the enrollment of teachers colleges for Arab education.

As we follow the success of ethnic groups in their pursuit of education, we examine the enrollments of the 20 to 29 age group in academic institutions, that is, post-secondary and degree granting.

Table VIII shows the progress of ethnic groups defined as to birthplace of the student and father's birthplace.¹⁸ Again, we see enrollment ratios for men and women by age group, but without distinction within the ethnic groups.

In the most recent year, 1974-75, the data are overwhelmingly against those of Oriental parentage: barely 3% of this age group are enrolled in academic institutions. Of those who were themselves born in Asia-Africa, 2.1% of the age group are enrolled. Of those born in Europe-America, 8.4% are enrolled.

This is in contrast with those who were of Israeli fathers

(nearly 10%), who were themselves born in Israel (9.5%), and of fathers born in Europe-America (14%).

We may be observing a phenomenon which shows some generational results: Oriental Jews with fathers born in Asia-Africa are scarcely represented in academic institutions. When this group is one generation older, that is, when they show a "father born in Israel", they will tend to have a larger representation in these schools. The benefits, therefore, may accrue to birth in the country with fathers also born in the country, benefitting from the implied positive effects of acculturation, military service, employment, and citizenship participation. These factors may enhance the family's interest in higher education and may represent the lessening of disadvantage, both educational and socio-economic. The fruits of citizenship will accrue more to the sons than to the fathers. Current events tend to confirm this as well as the continuing pressures of Oriental Jews for better preparation in the schools for eventual enrollment in higher academic institutions.

Reviewing further the achievement of various ethnic groups as holders of academic degrees, we see in Table IX that in 1974, the status of Oriental-born Jews is at a low level.¹⁹ Nearly 9% of first degree holders are of this group compared with 40.6% Israeli-born and 47% Europe-America-born. Some advantage goes to those born in Israel, of Oriental-born fathers, of about 1% in each degree category.

Data comparing totals for 1961 and 1974 show a rise in favor of Israeli-born and Asia-Africa-born. Thus, percentages for all degree holders who were Israeli-born rose from 13.5 to

33.6%. For Asia-Africa-born, in 1961, 6.1% of degrees were in this group; in 1974, the figure was 7.3%.

However, the Europe-America-born, in 1961, were 80.4% of degree holders; in 1974, they were 56.8% of the total. This reduction is not actually matched by the rise for Israeli-born, but both shifts are interesting for their indications of the possible effects of immigration and the educational qualifications of recent arrivals. In the same Table, the data for non-Jews represents a six-fold increase in the numbers of degree holders.

The foregoing is essentially a review and analysis of the educational experiences of ethnic groups within the Jewish population of Israel. We have examined the educational progress of Oriental Jews, children of Asia-Africa-born fathers or themselves born abroad. A second ethnic group, the Western, Ashkenazi or Europe-America in origin, has also been studied. We have also analyzed, in various aspects, the educational status of the Israeli-born, the Sabra--whether of Europe-America, Asia-Africa or Israeli fathers.

Some attention has been given to the Arab Israeli ethnic group, essentially Moslem and not resident in the post-1967 administered areas. At this time we shall examine in greater detail the educational conditions of the Arab group in Israel.

Of initial interest is the level of participation in education over the years of the non-Jewish population. We bear in mind that traditional Islamic families tend to limit the enrollment of girls and, in some instances, even of boys. Thus, in Table X, we find that for the group in compulsory education, ages 6 to 13, there were initially enrolled, from 1966-67, over 90%

of the boys.²⁰ In that year, 75% of the girls 6 to 13 were enrolled. Ten years later, in 1976-77, girls' enrollment had reached over 89% and the boys' over 95%.

In a report by the Advisor on Arab Affairs, Prime Minister's Office, titled "Minorities in Israel--1976" it is noted that in 1948-49, 32.5% of the Arab children in the compulsory education age group attended schools. By 1976-77, the figure had risen to 92.5%

Of striking significance in this report is the information that in 1948-49 the total of Arab pupils was 11,000. In 1976-77, the enrollment had reached 157,000, a 14-fold increase as compared with a 6.6% increase among the Jewish population, including immigration.²¹

Referring further to Table X, we find that by 1976-77, enrollment of girls was 36.5% of the age group 14 to 17. For the boys, aged 14 to 17, enrollment was 52.6% of the group.

It seems evident that several factors are in operation: additional schools for the groups aged 6 to 17 have been made available; additional teachers have been prepared; motivation to attend has grown; and the traditional Islamic family reservations about schooling for girls have been eased. The latter is especially noteworthy not only because one-third of the girls, aged 14 to 17, are enrolled, but because eight years earlier, the enrollment of girls was 20% of this age group.

The boys aged 14 to 17 were enrolled at 37.9% in 1969-70. In 1976-77, 52.5% of Arab boys in this age group were enrolled. We find an interesting comparison with Table VI where 55.2% of the Jewish boys in the age group are enrolled. Still closer to

the figure for Arab boys, 52.5%, is that for Oriental Jewish boys of the same age, 53.8%.

For the current year, 1976-77, we see in Table XI the enrollments of Arab pupils by religion and types of education.²² While to some extent private, religious-centered education enrolls a number of students, especially Christian Arabs, the majority of enrollments are either completely official or are officially supervised.

Relatively large numbers are enrolled in the secondary (pre-academic higher education) level of post-primary schooling. This group outnumbered considerably those enrolled in vocational and agricultural studies. While this may bode well for future university enrollments by non-Jewish Israelis, the increased benefits from agriculture for Arab farm families may be overlooked.

Study of Tables X and XI indicates that Arab access to education tends to be increasing for all religious elements and, especially, for girls.

As a final indicator of educational progress, we see in Table XII the successful completers of the matriculation examination or "bagrut".²³ The bagrut is necessary to signify completion of secondary academic studies and to permit application for university admission and, in accordance with latest requirements, for the teachers colleges.²⁴ The increase in numbers for both Jews and non-Jews indicates the strong motivation for social and economic mobility through education.

Though numerically small, about 40,000, the Druze community has tended to enjoy a favored status among Arab groups in Israel.

The religion, a 10th-century offshoot of Islam, is kept secret as to doctrine and ritual. Both in the pre-state and later periods, Druze fought alongside Jewish military units and continue to be conscripted into the Israel Defense Forces. They also serve in the Border Guard of the Israel Police.

As a result of this loyalty, the Druze are recognized as a separate community, having "Druze" rather than "Arab" on their identity cards.

In a recent study, the current problems of the Druze community have come under review.²⁵ The authors report that until recently, "the Druze have protected their own exclusiveness --traditionally passing down its values, usually by word of mouth, via the family and religious leaders."²⁶

With the broadening of education, the influence of the mass media, daily contacts with Western culture, and the Arab-Israeli conflict, the community has experienced problems of identity and concern for the preservation of its singular status.²⁷

In the light of this situation,

"more and more demands are heard for something to be done, whether by educational or other means, to buttress the weakening structure, demands with which the Jewish community is fully sympathetic...As a result, a policy has developed in Israel of encouraging the communal and cultural identity of the Druze Community.

"...Druze children are not given religious instruction in schools...Sympathizing with the attitudes of the Druze spiritual leaders, a subject of study was evolved called 'The Druze Heritage'. This subject...contains material about the community, its distinct culture and values as well as its historical figures and the like."²⁸

In accordance with the State Education Act of 1953, a

supplement statement of "aims of State education in the Druze sector" was formulated. In general terms, the aims include: to base education on Druze and Arab cultural values; to foster peace, patriotism, loyalty, and cooperation within the common interests of Jews and Druze; to nurture a Druze-Israeli entity; inculcate Druze youth with the heritage of its fathers in Israel and in the various countries with Druze communities.

For the Druze population, though relatively small, educational opportunities have tended to expand as they have for other ethnic groups in Israel. Their favored status which may open further economic and social mobility tends to conflict with the restricting elements of their religious tenets. It remains to be seen how young Druze will respond to the demands of Arab national identity within the context of their special status in Israel. It also remains a challenge for Israeli authorities and for the individual Jewish citizen to maintain the most positive conditions on behalf of this community, perhaps as a model for others. Should the Druze become ideologically assimilated within the larger Arab Moslem population serious damage could result for the foundations which have thus far been laid down. The potential for the Jewish-Druze relationship to serve as a model for beneficial accommodation and communality among ethnic groups, Jewish and non-Jewish, could be diminished if not destroyed. Our current inclination is to place the burden of action in this direction upon the Israeli side.

V Problems and Promises Like every modern nation, Israel consists of a number of populations, each of which strives for dominance or,

at least, for the continuity of the dominance which is already in place. Jews, the majority population, face a growing Arab population, essentially Moslem. Among the Jewish groups, there are religious distinctions among the Orthodox believers, other believers, and non-believers. Distinctions of origin, defined in language, culture, customs, and economic status, pit the Orientals against the Jews of Western origin, with the Sabra a unique element, yet still tending to reflect his origins as well.

For all of these contending segments of population, education is seen as promising the means to bring "in" more of those who are "out". Data presented here indicate that the mobility of Oriental Jews in the educational levels has been significant. Yet, the gaps continue to concentrate the focus and energies of those who feel that they continue to be disadvantaged.

In describing the socio-economic gaps between Jewish groups, Smootha reports that, "generally speaking, Ashkenazim are about twice as well off as the Orientals". There is a ratio of 2:1 in the occupational structure, in the top white collar occupations (professional, administrative, business) in favor of the Ashkenazim.²⁹

Having already noted the educational gaps between the two groups, we find the socio-economic inequalities an apparent outcome. This is particularly the case where a low representation in university enrollments will restrict the entry of Oriental Jews into the higher echelons of Israeli development and culture.

It is in this way that thoughtful Israelis (and potential dissidents as well) reflect upon the disparities with regard to power. The holding of political power by Jews of European origin

has affected the considerations of national priorities as to fiscal allocations, appointments of personnel, promotions, and the explicit demands of the more submerged groups in the pluralistic society. Thus, Smootha points to the low presence of Orientals among cabinet members in 1973 (11%); among members of the Knesset (16.7%); as members of top governing bodies in 5 major political parties (10.8%).³⁰

He states that, in 1971, Orientals were one-third of the Deputy Speakers of Knesset and one-third of chairmen in other Knesset committees. In 1973, no major generals (out of 21) were Orientals and one Oriental was a Supreme Court Justice (out of 10). Five Orientals were among the 20 members of the Histadrut Central Committee; none (out of 41) were general secretaries of Histadrut national trade unions.

Further interesting data relating to Knesset membership are presented by Caspi.³¹ Those in the population of Europe-America origin are over-represented in the Knesset at the expense of those from Moslem countries.

"...In fact, only 10% of the 428 members ever elected to the Knesset were born in Islamic countries. This fact has an accumulative significance, given that these communities are considered deprived in other realms as well: economically, socially, and culturally...It appears that the parliamentary under-representation of the communities from Islamic countries is the most decisive, clearest, and most significant proof of their deprivation...In the Ninth Knesset (elected May 1977), as in those which preceded it, these communities are represented by only 12 members (out of 120)."³²

In his recent study of a highly vocal Oriental group, the

"Black Panthers", Smootha found that over 70% of these activists see equity and assimilation as a long-term objective. About 90% favored complete ethnic integration in schools, neighborhoods, and marriages. He found that the collective goals of both Ashkenazi and Oriental leadership are congruent.³³

Education authorities are giving some response to the grievances inherent in the conditions of Oriental Jews. Through special after-school enrichment centers, disadvantaged children in grades VI to VIII who were seen as "relatively gifted" were very successful (compared with a control group) in academic matriculation exams at the end of grade XII.³⁴

Relevant research with 1,600 kibbutz children from 129 kibbutzim demonstrated that no IQ gap existed between matched children of Oriental and Western backgrounds. These results were foundational to further programs on behalf of the disadvantaged.³⁵

Another successful activity for the "relatively gifted" among the disadvantaged has been to bring such youngsters to special boarding schools. In 1975, 25 of such institutions enrolled 3,000 pupils.

While it has been universal educational practice to focus upon the needs of the disadvantaged in their earliest years, these efforts have tended to meet with limited success, in Israel as elsewhere. With the opening of junior high schools for grades VII to IX, Israeli educators have attempted to make these schools the focus for ethnic integration. Yet, in this recent development, they find Western parents reluctant to have their children integrate in school with Oriental children for fear of exposure to lower educational levels. Further, the integration of Oriental

and Western-origin children calls for reasonable proximity of these populations. This tends to be only partly feasible outside the large cities.

The state religious school system further reduces the possibilities for integration when we note that the large majority of its enrollment is of Oriental-origin pupils.

In the junior high schools, the implementation of the focus on the early adolescent years depends upon heterogeneous "home classes", self-paced multi-track curricula, and the efforts of educational-vocational counselors. During the 1975-75 school year, major efforts were begun to carry forward these activities with special emphasis on the disadvantaged children aged 3-4, 12-16, and teen-age youth.

Problems and promises in Israeli Arab education depend considerably upon elements both inside and outside Israel. Arabs of Israeli citizenship are entitled to all benefits including the political and educational. In this report, we shall not deal with the special case of the administered areas where Arabs are citizens of Jordan and where education is basically in the traditional Islamic model.

For Israeli Arabs, nevertheless, educational attitudes are interwoven with the additional complexities of their national status as an ethnic minority, the political influences of other Arab nations of the region, and their economic progress within the Israeli nation.

In reviewing the Arab status in Israel, a recent Israeli government document reports on several factors for comparison.³⁶

Table XIII presents demographic data for 1974 which show that Israeli Arabs have more favorable conditions than do Arabs in other nations of the region: Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, and Iraq. These conditions are in rate of mortality per thousand inhabitants, natural increase, and average life expectancy.

Educational provisions established in the law of 1953 were later amplified and made more relevant in 1972 for Arab children.³⁷ A special committee recommended the following goals for Arab education:

- "1. Education for peace.
2. Loyalty to the state, by emphasizing civic interests common to all its citizens, while upholding the sui generis status of the Israeli Arab.
3. Cultivation of cultural Arabic, Israeli, and universal values.
4. Implementing a more rapid process of integration into the mainstream of Israeli society.
5. Strengthening the growing independence of the Arab female pupil.

The development of civic consciousness, participatory democracy, and interpersonal relationships based on mutual trust and respect were also stressed, as was the need to expand the network of joint summer camps for Arabs and Jews, and pre-vocational training in Arab elementary schools."³⁸

Joint committees of Arabs and Israeli educators have reviewed curriculum, recommending revisions, and developing new Arabic textbooks.

In view of realities, we are inclined to wonder about the definitions and implications of several of the terms used above.

At this time, as we have reported earlier, there are a few

schools where Arab and Jewish children are enrolled together. All Arab villages have a complete elementary school with Arab teachers, school administration, and local school authorities. In many areas, junior high schools have been established for Arab pupils

The Ministry document notes a number of advances made for Israeli Arab education aside from the almost full enrollment of the compulsory education age group:

Arab schools offer pre-vocational classes attended by over 3,000 pupils.

In 1975, over 50 special classes existed for handicapped children.

There is a slow increase in the numbers of vocational guidance counselors.

Updated Arabic textbooks have increased substantially, though there is a shortage in secondary school science texts.

Area reference centers for teachers and headmasters have been established to stimulate pedagogical development.

Israeli TV and radio programs present curricular enrichment in Arabic, with accompanying print materials in that language.

Israeli educational authorities have sought to encourage the participation of local government in Arab communities in the maintenance and upgrading of school facilities. While the state builds the schools, supervises curricula, matriculation exams, and teacher certification, local authorities are responsible for providing the land, planning the building, administering services, etc. Local Arab authorities are also encouraged to provide transportation for their children to high quality regional Arab high schools with library, laboratory, art, and music facilities.

As has been noted previously, Arab student enrollments in the universities have continued to rise. Nevertheless, the Ministry cites several conditions which tend to handicap Arab university students. It then reports on official activities to ameliorate the problems.³⁹

The difficulties:

1. Arab students in universities cannot study "delicate" subjects affecting national security.
2. Because of inferior teaching, their secondary schooling cannot always match that of the Jewish university student, especially in the sciences, the educational patterns of analysis, and independent study.
3. Arab university students often experience difficulty with Hebrew texts and lectures.
4. Not having experienced an open, relaxed, progressive educational milieu in their villages, Arab students must learn to adjust to this new environment without abandoning their own cultural roots.
5. At the university, Jewish Israeli students are older than their Arab classmates, have served in the Army for 3 years, in many cases married, have outside employment, and take part in periodic reserve duty. They study and work in a closed, rigid pattern of life which does not tend to invite collegial relationships. Arab students, seeing this as possible rejection and hostility, tend to form their own closed circle, increasing their sense of alienation from the mainstream of Israeli life.
6. The Arab university student is continually aware of the dilemma of his existence in view of the Israeli-Arab conflict, particularly within an institution which is predominantly Jewish and often nationalistic in tone. This feeling continues despite his awareness that he has been welcomed into the university, often on lesser

objective admission criteria than were applied to Jewish students.

Similar information is provided in a report by Rekness.⁴⁰

"Their limited mastery of English and Hebrew makes it difficult for them to understand lectures, read professional literature, and express themselves orally and in writing...Another source of ...frustration is the lack of suitable counseling (where)...only a minority had access to reliable information when making their applications...

"As a result, Arab students (are) over-represented in the faculties of the humanities, law, medicine, and pharmacy, and under-represented in the social sciences, natural sciences, and engineering."

During their university enrollment, Arab students often experience problems in finding housing, thus increasing the tension which they may feel. In times of political stress, disagreements in viewpoint have moved from verbal debate to physical clashes between Arab and Jewish students.

Arab students choose fields of study without adequate preparation or guidance. As a consequence, when they graduate they face an uncertain labor market, unable to be absorbed by the Arab economic sector, and with limited opportunities in the Jewish private sector. Thus many Arab graduates enter the field of teaching, possibly contributing to higher standards in the schools, but often with the frustrations of not being in a profession truly appropriate to their talents and interests.

Rekness describes government actions to compensate for the difficulties of Arab students and graduates.⁴¹

In 1976, it was decided to establish a unit for occupational

guidance and counseling in the Arab sector in order to:

"...encourage Arab high school pupils to enter vocational courses, to provide counseling for high school graduates intending to continue their education, guiding them in light of their aptitudes and the state of the labor market, and to deal with the employment problems of Arab university graduates.

"...at the end of 1977, the Ministry of Education decided to take on 32 Arabs in supervisory and advisory posts, in the preparation of school curricula, and in the prevention of early school leaving."

Additionally, Israeli authorities have proposed a number of ameliorative measures:⁴²

- "1. Appointing on each university campus a special guidance staff for Arab students.
2. Broadening the "preparatory" class--for those who completed the XII grade of secondary school without passing the matriculation exams--prior to university admission will enlarge the number of Arab students on the campuses.
3. Adding more Arab teachers to the existing university faculties.
4. Enlarging the scope of post-secondary, non-academic learning opportunities for the young Arab.
5. Establishing in each large, predominantly Jewish city hostels for young working Arabs from the villages to serve as social and cultural centers as well as educational institutions to further their occupational advancement."

Some comments on Israeli Arab education are offered by Kanaana in a 1976 report.⁴³ In his discussion, he notes that

"since 1948, there has been a great increase in educational facilities for Arabs in Israel."

Citing 1968 data, Kanaana reports that the enrollment of somewhat over 250 Arab students in Israeli universities represented a ratio in the total population "shared by Oriental Jews in Israel". Data for 1974 of university graduates holding the first degree (see Table 1X), show 6,000 Oriental Jews compared with ^{1,400} non-Jews in this category.

Kanaana's unstated implications are apparently congruent with the statements provided by the Ministry of Education.⁴⁴ He emphasized, however, that "the Oriental Jew may be considered just as backward, uncivilized, and culturally inferior as an Arab, but he is still a Jew. He can be re-educated, re-shaped, redeemed, and re-admitted to the fold...Arabs in comparison are not suitable raw material to be salvaged."⁴⁵

Kanaana, an expatriate Israeli Arab, states the dilemma for the Israeli majority facing an ever-growing minority, equal in citizenship but fretful and clearly non-assimilable in Israeli society in the same sense as the Oriental Jew. Expanding on this theme, Kanaana states that "it is no secret to Israelis, therefore, that Arabs in Israel, with few exceptional cases, sympathize and identify more strongly with the Arab cause than (with) the Israeli".⁴⁶

It is one theme of this study that Israel bears the responsibility for carrying out its expressed intentions toward its Arab citizens. The dilemma is expressed forcefully and, in some reflection of Kanaana's comments, by Winter.⁴⁷

"The sensitive situation of Israel's Arabs as a minority living in a country which is in a state of constant confrontation with the Arab world must inevitably be expressed in the educational system...That the Arabs have a religion, a culture, a language, and a history which differ from those of the Jewish population cannot be ignored. The Arab teacher cannot be expected to educate his pupils in the spirit of Zionism and the national aspirations of the Jewish people. At the same time, it is understood that he must educate them to be loyal citizens of the state, to obey its laws, and to take pride in its development and achievements in general and in those of the Arab community in particular."

Clearly, Winter responds to the dilemma of the Arab entity in Israel and offers a minimal-maximal statement to which this researcher sees little alternative.

The possible salve for an impossible situation may lie in the re-education of the majority population of Israel in their attitudes and practices toward minorities. Smootha reminds his fellow Israelis of their prejudice and hostility toward Arabs, their practices of discrimination and exclusion. Invidious distinctions, he states, between Orientals and Ashkenazim are moderate, those between Arabs and Jews are substantial.⁴⁸ Stressing the pluralism of Israel, he proposes that "the time is overdue for Israel to come to grips with its intergroup inequality and conflict and do justice to its disadvantaged groups."⁴⁹

VI Summary and Conclusions Education in Israel, though available to all its citizens, reflects a number of special conditions with regard to ethnic groups. Jews of European-American background have

made the greatest progress at all levels, reflecting the experience and motivation of families. When fathers are educated, employed in technical, professional, or highly skilled work, and assimilated to advanced socio-economic status, their children make easy progress through the schools and achieve at the highest levels available in Israeli education and culture.

In addition, family receptivity to schooling for girls as well as boys, and the possession of Hebrew and English (or another Western language) are two important factors in achieving gains by this non-majority, yet dominant, ethnic group.

For Jews who are Asian-African (Oriental) in background, the very characteristics described above tend to be lacking or limited in quality. Derived from countries dominant in Islamic orientation, these Jews have been subject to social prejudice, have because of their limited education fallen into the lowest economic strata. Recognition of their condition has brought forth strong agitation and public clamor by the Oriental Jews and their supporters among Ashkenazim for improved educational opportunity.

They have sought special, compensatory conditions in the schools and in their communities, including more teachers, more teacher time, and extended services. Authorities have been responsive to the demands of Oriental Jews and have attempted to provide needed remedies.

Over the years, such developments on behalf of Oriental Jews, plus their gradual assimilation through military service and employment, have brought about decided progress. Nevertheless, public stereotyping and prejudice continue both socially and economically. Oriental students must continue to make special efforts

(with the support of Israeli education authorities) to approach more closely on the heels of the Western-oriented Jews.

For non-Jewish groups, special educational facilities, teachers, and curricula are provided. These are essentially equal, but because they are separate with explicit Islamic or Druze orientation, the quality of the experiences does not prepare the students to meet the same academic standards as the Jewish students. For non-Jewish students, the lack of Hebrew and English remains critical, limiting their progress as well as their sense of adequacy. Though the Druze population has the fullest citizenship rights, including the obligations of military and police service, their progress is not distinctly above that of other non-Jewish groups.

In general, Moslem educational processes tend to focus on rote learning, on memorization, and on student dependence in learning. These contrast with the more open, less structured, and more independence-fostering processes in the Jewish schools.

For all groups, regardless of ethnic membership, educational participation has continued to increase; more girls of all ethnic groups are enrolled; attempts are made to offer needed compensatory services and guidance; special criteria for university admissions are offered for disadvantaged applicants of all groups. For Jews, educational progress may be said to be comparable with that of citizens of developed, industrialized nations. This is in spite of the fact that secondary education is neither free nor compulsory, --tuition grants are provided from 100% for those who qualify.

For non-Jews, students below the university level have made progress that can be compared favorably with those of any Arab

nation. At the university level, while more Arab students are enrolled in Israel than ever before, their progress does not compare favorably with those in universities in Arab nations. We may forecast that the large numbers of Arab girls and boys now enrolled in the compulsory grades give promise of higher relative enrollment in Israeli universities. This must be predicated upon mastery of Hebrew and English and the modification of the teaching processes in the Arab school system.

The singular status of non-Jewish (Arab) populations causes us to recognize their own equivocal condition and internal disequilibrium. Israel's authorities also express their awareness of this situation and emphasize that they seek to implement in concrete form their plans for Arab education and integration in Israeli society.

With reference to all ethnic groups, it is obligatory for the Israeli population, particularly the dominant Ashkenazim, to put into practice their expressed democratic ideals with regard to their fellow Jews and their non-Jewish fellow citizens. This may be the most important educational task of all.

As we look toward further developments and consider the educational problems and promises for Israel's ethnic groups, we anticipate the following needs and trends:

1. Programs of major significance are needed to enhance the opportunities for Oriental Jews at all age levels, to re-educate the attitudes of Western-oriented Jews toward differing ethnic groups, and to integrate Jewish groups socially, culturally, and educationally.
2. Variations in educational formats and procedures have been, and will continue to be, implemented for Jewish

advantaged and gifted pupils. Provisions are being made for extended after-school services, for boarding schools, and for special curricular sequences. Search for such pupils among all segments of the disadvantaged should be undertaken.

3. For all students and increasingly for girls, preparation for technical, skilled employment in the private sector should be fostered.
4. Strong steps will be needed to improve language proficiency in Hebrew for all ethnic groups, with special emphasis upon Arabic for Jews.
5. The provision of improved and extended services of guidance and counseling is being undertaken for all students, but particularly for Oriental Jews and Arabs.
6. While the deficiencies in the Arab schools may be laid at the door of local village authorities, teaching processes more in keeping with modern conditions will need to be encouraged. This may require a greater effort to recruit teachers for the primary, post-primary, and secondary schools, to improve their preparation and incentives, and to seek appropriate technical assistance.
7. Efforts should be increased for the education of adults in all ethnic groups, including women, so as to foster better parent efforts with their children and to motivate more technical preparation for the parents themselves.
8. Paradoxically, increased birth rate among Jews is being urged while women continue to be enrolled in ever-greater numbers. There is no evidence that such educational progress for women is linked with a higher birth rate. On the other hand, demographic planners may find similar results with the increased enrollment of Arab women.
9. The urgency of improved education, both formal and in-

formal, should place greater responsibility upon television, radio, and the print media. Newspapers, a necessary commodity among Israelis, should be recruited to include public-service educational materials. The same requirements should be made of Israeli television and radio. In either case, the users' options remain,-- boring, irrelevant material may be ignored or turned off. In the case of television, Israeli viewers may continue to seek out the genial emanations of Jordan TV.

10. Major efforts are predictable for the re-education of many service and public employees into economically productive activity. Since educational development is based upon economic stability, the political and educational establishments will need to promote the appropriate re-structuring and re-training of large portions of the labor force.
11. Arab labor in Israel, like that of the "gastarbeiter" of Europe, is now holding places in the work force and is not competing with Israeli Jews. This manpower, crucial to a number of sectors of the Israeli economy, needs to be incorporated within labor organizations and to develop a sense of commitment to that economy rather than a sense of alienation or exploitation. This applies both to Israeli Arabs and to those of the administered areas, but particularly the former.
12. Credibility will have to be developed with the clearest possible understanding of what is meant by the "integration" of Arabs into the Israeli society, by "citizenship", and by "assimilation". All Israelis will have to come to terms with such definitions and their appropriate implementation within a realistic time-frame.
13. In the unlikely event of peace and stability in the near future between Israel and the Arab nations, the educational tasks of Israel will remain. Their implementation will be more feasible and under less stress. The assimilation of Jewish ethnic groups will still proceed

more effectively for the new generations than for the immigrants. The over-all development of educational innovation in Israel will be extended outward toward other developing (though non-Islamic) countries. For the Arab states, such needed technical assistance will have to be obtained from other sources.

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Table I Ethnic Divisions in Israel. Estimates of relative size, 1975

Ethnic Division	Numbers	Percent
Total	4,605,400	100
Non-Jews (Israeli Arabs and Palestinians)	1,646,000	36
Jews	2,959,400	64
Palestinians	1,204,200	29
Jews	2,959,400	71
Israeli Arabs	441,800	13
Jews	2,959,400	87
Israeli Arabs		
Moslems	335,800	76
Christians	66,300	15
Druzes	39,700	9
Jews		
religious	887,800	30
nonreligious	2,071,800	70
Jews		
Orientals	1,627,700	55
Ashkenazim	1,331,700	45

Table II Origins of Jewish Population Groups, 1948 and 1976.

Country of Origin	Absolute Numbers		Percent	
	1948	1976	1948	1976
Israel	253,700	1,574,900	35.4	52.2
Turkey	10,700	46,100	1.5	1.5
Iraq	9,000	109,200	1.3	3.7
The Yemens	16,300	54,800	2.3	1.8
Iran	3,900	51,700	0.5	1.7
Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia	5,400	275,400	0.8	9.3
Libya and Egypt	5,900	60,200	0.8	2.0
Remaining Asian and African nations	18,800	43,200	2.6	1.4
Soviet Union, Poland, Romania	272,000	559,600	38.0	18.6
Bulgaria and Greece	21,800	38,200	3.0	1.3
Remaining American and European nations	99,200	193,300	13.8	6.5
TOTAL	716,700	3,006,600	100.0	100.0

Table III Population aged 14 and over; years of schooling, sex, continent of origin; 1977.

Years of schooling, percentages							
	16+	13-15	9-12	5-8	1-4	0	Total
JEWS							
<u>Continent of birth</u>							
Israel born: Total	8.2	14.3	61.7	14.6	0.5	0.7	100.0
<u>Father</u> born in Israel	7.6	13.5	61.9	15.1	0.9	1.0	
Asia-Africa	1.3	6.8	67.1	23.3	0.7	0.8	
Europe-America	15.4	22.4	55.9	5.6	0.2	0.5	
Born in Asia-Africa	2.3	5.4	33.2	32.8	6.2	20.1	
Born in Europe-America	11.0	12.9	39.5	27.8	6.3	2.5	
Total Males	9.7	10.1	47.3	24.9	3.8	4.2	
Total Females	5.3	12.4	44.3	23.9	4.6	9.5	
NON-JEWS							
Total Males	1.8	5.5	28.0	40.9	13.7	10.1	
Total Females	0.2	2.2	19.1	32.7	9.2	36.6	

Table IV Pupils in schools, by grade, type of school, and origin
Hebrew education

Percentages	Europe- America	Asia- Africa	Israel	Totals=100.0
<u>Primary schools</u>				
1966-67 Totals	31.6	59.3	9.1	
1976-77 Totals	24.0	55.7	20.3	
Grades: I	23.5	52.6	23.9	
II	23.5	54.3	22.2	
III	23.8	54.6	21.5	
IV	23.8	56.3	19.9	
V	23.9	56.9	19.2	
VI	24.6	57.4	18.0	
VII	25.2	57.7	17.1	
VIII	25.6	59.0	15.4	
<u>Intermediate Schools</u>				
1972-73 Totals	30.7	58.6	10.9	
1976-77 Totals	27.9	57.4	14.6	
Grades VII	27.2	56.9	15.8	
VIII	28.3	57.2	14.4	
IX	28.2	58.2	13.5	
<u>Post-primary Schools</u>				
1966-67 Totals	56.7	35.6	7.7	
1977-78 Totals	32.4	51.3	16.3	
Grades: IX	27.6	55.0	17.4	
X	30.2	53.4	16.4	
XI	33.7	50.2	16.1	
XII	37.0	47.5	15.5	
XIII	46.3	41.6	12.1	
XIV	53.5	35.8	10.7	
<u>Types of Study</u>				
Secondary	41.2	38.4	20.4	
Vocational	24.6	64.1	11.3	
Agricultural	19.8	65.3	14.9	
Continuation classes	45.2	21.4	33.4	
Teachers Colleges	49.7	39.3	11.0	

Table V Pupils in primary and intermediate schools, by percentages in class of Asia-Africa origin, and by control, 1976-77.

	Percent of Asia-Africa origin in group	Percent of Asia-Africa origin in class					Totals=100.0	Totals in absolute numbers
		85.0+	65.0-84.9	35.0-64.9	15.0-34.9	up to 14.9		
<u>Primary schools</u>								
1972-73 Total	59.8	30.8	16.0	26.3	18.5	8.5	361,726	
1976-77 Total	55.7	21.1	17.6	33.1	19.7	8.6	376,525	
Urban Total	56.4	20.2	18.6	35.0	19.8	6.5	340,268	
Established	49.3	11.9	14.6	40.1	25.1	8.2	249,024	
New	76.1	43.0	29.4	20.9	5.1	1.7	91,244	
Rural Total	48.4	29.4	7.7	15.0	19.3	28.7	36,257	
Established	23.5	4.2	2.6	15.2	28.8	49.3	16,176	
New	68.5	49.7	11.8	14.8	11.5	12.1	20,081	
<u>Supervision</u>								
State	50.0	10.6	18.9	39.0	22.7	8.9	275,370	
State-religious	75.4	53.3	15.1	18.5	9.1	4.0	81,495	
Independent	53.2	34.5	10.0	9.5	22.7	23.3		
<u>Intermediate schools</u>								
1972-73 Total	58.6	31.6	12.6	24.7	23.5	7.6	38,542	
1976-77 Total	57.4	25.6	15.7	29.9	20.7	8.1	57,200	
<u>Supervision</u>								
State	47.6	10.2	16.2	37.0	25.8	10.8	41,314	
State-religious	82.3	64.3	14.6	12.0	7.8	1.3	15,338	
Independent	97.1	100.0					548	

Table VI Pupils aged 14-17 in schools, by sex, origin, and type of school.
Hebrew education; 1977-78.

Percentages in the respective groups in the Jewish population.

	Origin:		Girls	Boys	Total
	Europe-America	Asia-Africa			
<u>Post-primary education</u>					
1966-67	68.6	37.9	57.9	48.2	52.9
1969-70	77.5	44.2	64.0	54.3	59.0
1972-73	73.2	47.5	64.9	53.0	58.8
1976-77	70.6	53.8	68.6	55.2	61.8
<u>Type of Educ.</u>					
Secondary (including continuing ed.)	43.5	19.2	39.0	21.6	30.1
Vocational- Agricultural	27.2	37.2	31.6	35.1	33.4
<u>Age</u>					
14	50.1	44.8	51.7	45.2	48.3
15	82.3	71.9	86.1	70.1	77.9
16	79.7	61.4	78.5	61.9	70.0
17	70.0	48.1	66.3	50.4	58.2

Table VII Students of Teacher-Training Colleges, by courses.

46.

	1969-70	1975-76	1976-77	1977-78	Change in index: 1969-70=100
<u>Hebrew Education</u>					
Institutions	40	52	57	53	137
Total students	4,994	11,571	11,711	11,452	229
Years of study					
I	2,313	4,656	4,774	4,540	196
II	2,151	4,567	4,354	4,342	202
III	530	2,302	2,533	2,509	473
IV	--	46	50	61	--
Courses to teach in:					
Kindergarten	731	1,510	1,412	1,218	167
Grades I-II	197	1,251	1,453	1,391	706
Lower grades	1,862	2,798	2,699	2,589	139
Intermediate grades	750	2,206	2,180	2,182	291
Vocational educ.	1,454	2,969	3,123	3,135	216
Percent Men	13.9	10.9	11.0	10.6	
Percent Asia- Africa Origin*	32.3	38.3	38.3	39.3	
Percent holders of matric. certif. or govt. diploma	48.1	48.9	55.7	55.1	
*Including Israeli-born whose fathers were born in these continents.					
<u>Arab Education</u>					
Institutions	1	2	2	2	200
Total students	370	812	731	603	163
Years of study					
I	199	407	301	227	114
II	171	405	369	289	169
III	--	--	61	87	--
Totals	370	812	731	603	
Percent Men	46.9	53.3	48.0	45.8	
Percent holders of matric.certif. or govt. diploma	--	39.0	34.8	38.1	

47.

Table VIII Rates of enrollment in academic institutions among the 20-29 age group, by sex and continent of birth; Jews.
Percentages in the 20-29 age group in the Jewish population.

	1964-65	1969-70	1972-73	1974-75
<u>Total</u>	3.9	6.4	7.1	7.2
<u>Sex</u>				
Men	5.4	7.0	7.9	7.9
Women	2.8	5.7	6.3	6.3
<u>Continent of birth</u>				
<u>Israel-born total</u>	8.1	9.9	9.8	9.5
-father born in Israel	5.2	7.5	8.8	9.9
-father born in Asia-Africa	1.6	2.5	2.8	2.9
-father born in Europe-America	10.7	12.6	13.8	14.1
Born in Asia-Africa	0.8	1.6	2.0	2.1
Born in Europe-America	5.4	9.8	9.3	8.4

Table IX University graduates and holders of post-secondary diplomas, 1974.

	University Graduates, 1974					
	1st Degree	2nd Degree	3rd Degree	1974 Totals	1961 Totals	1974 Post-sec. diplomas
<u>Totals</u> (thousands)	60.7	31.5	4.4	96.7	36.0	78.8
Jews	59.3	31.1	4.4	94.9	35.7	75.7
Non-Jews	1.4	0.4	--	1.8	0.3	3.0

Percentages

Jews

Continent of birth

Israel	40.6	20.7	32.6	33.6	13.5	44.3
Asia-Africa	8.9	4.4	5.7	7.3	6.1	14.4
Europe-America	47.0	74.4	61.5	56.8	80.4	41.1

Percent origin

Asia-Africa*	10.2	5.0	6.9	8.3	6.6	19.0
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*Includes Israeli-born whose father was born in Asia-Africa.

Table X Pupils aged 6-17, by sex and religion, Arab education.
Percentages in respective group of non-Jewish population. 48.

	Religion:					
	Druze and others	Christians	Moslems	Girls	Boys	Total
<u>Ages 6-13</u>						
1966-67	85.4	97.7	79.3	75.0	91.2	83.5
1969-70	88.2	97.3	84.6	80.6	93.2	87.1
1972-73	92.0	97.0	89.4	85.1	95.9	90.7
1976-77	94.3	97.9	91.5	89.6	95.3	92.5
<u>Ages 14-17</u>						
1969-70	20.9	55.0	23.4	20.0	37.9	29.4
1972-73	27.9	58.0	31.6	26.6	43.9	35.6
1976-77	32.4	70.3	41.5	36.5	52.6	44.9

49.

Table XI Pupils by religion and types of education, 1976-77; Arab education.

	Non-official institutions Total Thereof: Supervised pupils by Ministry of Educ		Official Institutions	Totals	Population, January 1978
<u>Pupils</u>	15,805	11,317	141,815	157,620	
<u>Religions</u>					
Moslems	6,704	3,577	117,462	124,166	443,800
Christians	8,862	7,625	11,637	20,499	86,100
Druze	101	101	12,712	12,813	44,900
Others	138	14	4	142	--
<u>Types of education</u>					
Kindergarten	2,116	1,662	14,849	16,965	
Primary and inter- mediate schools	10,440	6,629	112,603	123,043	
<u>Post-primary educ.</u>				17,612	
Secondary				14,905	
Vocational				1,986	
Agricultural				721	

Table XII Completers of matriculation examinations.

Years	Arab education	Hebrew education	Totals
1960-61	94	3,464	3,558
1964-65	147	8,392	8,539
1969-70	212	10,831	11,043
1974-75	780	12,030	12,810
1975-76*	970	12,350	13,320
1976-77*	1,080	12,050	13,130

*Excludes graduates in technologic track (about 2,000-3,000 in 1976-77).

Table XIII Demographic data for non-Jews in Israel, as compared with
Arab states in the Middle East, 1974.

	Israel	Jordan	Syria	Egypt	Lebenon	Iraq
Mortality rate (per 000)	5.4	16.0	15.3	13.1	9.1	15.5
Natural increase (percent annually)	3.9	3.5	2.9	2.5	2.0	--
Average life expectancy	72	53	55	54	63	52.5

Footnotes:

1. Bachi, Roberto, The Population of Israel, Jerusalem: Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University, 1974. Table 14.1.
2. World Bank data show Israel in 25th place among the nations with a 1976 GNP of \$2,810. 1978 World Bank Atlas, Washington, D. C.
3. Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1978, No. 29, Jerusalem: Sivan Press, 1978. Table 26, P. 675.
4. Ibid. Table 31, P. 697.
5. Ibid. Table 42, P. 689.
6. Ibid. Table 18, P. 667.
7. Smootha, Sammy, Israel: Pluralism and Conflict, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978. Derived from Table 7, P.280 and Central Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1976.
8. Nyrop, Richard F., editor, Israel, A Country Study, Washington, D. C.: The American University, 1979. Table 4, P.305.
9. Ministry of Education and Culture, Education for the Disadvantaged, n. d. (1976?). P.7.
10. Smootha, op. cit. Pp. 159-163.
11. Derived from Central Bureau of Statistics, op. cit. Table 2, P. 653.
12. Ibid. Derived from Table 22, P. 671.
13. Ministry of Education and Culture, op. cit.
14. Derived from Central Bureau of Statistics, op. cit. Table 24, P. 673.
15. Ibid. Derived from Table 28, P. 677.
16. Ibid. Derived from Table 37, P. 684.
17. Ministry of Education and Culture, Teachers Colleges in Israel, Dept. of Teacher Education, January 1979. Pp. 13-15.
18. Derived from Central Bureau of Statistics, op. cit. Table 40, P. 687.

19. Ibid. Derived from Table 47, P. 693.
20. Ibid. Derived from Table 30, P. 678.
21. Advisor on Arab Affairs, Prime Minister's Office, Minorities in Israel--1976. P. 3.
22. Derived from Central Bureau of Statistics, op. cit. Table 29, P. 678.
23. Ibid. Derived from Table 32, P. 679.
24. Teachers Colleges in Israel, op. cit. P. 18-19.
25. Eden, Shevach, Fayez Azzam, Yehudit Wolff, Fostering the Druze Heritage via the School System, Jerusalem, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1978. Pp. 32.
26. Ibid. Page 1.
27. Borsten, Joan, "Disenchanted Druze", Jerusalem Post, February 3-9, 1980. Pp. 12-13.
28. Eden, Azzam, Wolff, op. cit. Pp. 4-5.
29. Smoocha, op. cit. P. 137.
30. Ibid. P. 309.
31. Caspi, Dan, "How Representative is the Knesset?" Jerusalem Quarterly, 14, Winter 1980. Pp. 68-81.
32. Ibid. P. 72.
33. Smoocha, op. cit. Pp. 77-78.
34. Education for the Disadvantaged, op. cit. Pp. 2-4.
35. Ibid. P. 2.
36. Minorities in Israel--1976, op. cit.
37. Ministry of Education and Culture. Arab Education in Israel, n.d. (1976?), Pp. 1-2.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid. Pp. 4-5.
40. Rekness, Elie, "Israel Arab Intelligentsia", The Jerusalem Quarterly, 11, Spring 1979, P. 54.
41. Ibid. P. 55.

42. Education for the Disadvantaged, op. cit. P. 5.
43. Kanaana, Sharif, Socio-Cultural and Psychological Adjustment of the Arab Minority in Israel, San Francisco: R & E Research Associates, 1976. P. 50.
44. See P. , this report.
45. Kanaana, op. cit. Pp. 64-65.
46. Ibid. P. 67.
47. Winter, Michael, "Arab Education in Israel", The Jerusalem Quarterly, 12, Summer 1979. P. 122.
48. Smoocha, op. cit. Pp. 199-201.
49. Ibid. P. 265.

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